



**A new PIE root *h₁er ‘(to be) dark red, dusk red’:
drawing the line between inherited and borrowed words
for ‘red(ish)’, ‘pea’, ‘ore’, ‘dusk’ and ‘love’ in daughter
languages**

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PIE **h₁rouδ^h-o-* [adj.] ‘red’ has long been reconstructed (Com. Germ. **rauda-* ‘red’, Lith. *raūdas* ‘reddish brown, bay, reddish’, Lat. *rūfus* ‘red, tawny, red-haired’ < Com. It. Plt. **roupo-*, < Com. Celt. **roudo-* ‘red’, etc.). This *o*-grade adjective belongs to a Caland-system based on a PIE root **h₁reyd^h-* (NIL:580; BOZZONE 2016) also involving a number of other formations (see for instance LIV²: 508 and NIL: 580ff).

Formally, the root **h₁reyd^h-* looks like a secondary root. The first step towards the identification of the underlying primary root is to recognise the final *-d^h-* as originating from a suffixal formation, itself based on a primary root **h₁er-* ‘to be/become (dark)red’ via an acrostatic *u*-noun **h₁or-u-*, *h₁er-u* ‘redness’, following a productive PIE word formation pattern for colour names. In the remainder of this abstract, we will therefore bring together a number of words:

- Based on this acrostatic neuter noun **h₁ór-u-*, **h₁ér-u* ‘redness’: Skt. *áruṣ-* [n.] ‘wound’ (< **h₁ér-u-s-*), Skt. *aruṣ-á-* ‘reddish, light red, glowing, with the colour of fire’ (RV+), YAv. *aruša-* ‘white’, Com. Germ. **arwa^z* ‘red’, Skt. *aruṇá* [adj.] ‘reddish’ (RV+), ODu. *arut* [m.] ‘ore’ and OHG *aruz*, *ariz* [m.], *aruzi*, *arizi* [n.] ‘id.’;
- Based on a **-b^h-* derivative seen in an *n*-stem noun **h₁réb^h-ōn*, **h₁rb^h-nó-* ‘something red/brown (*vel sim.*)’ formation: OE *eorp*, *earp* ‘light brown, dusky’, ON *jarpi* ‘hazel grouse’, OHG *reba-huon* ‘partridge’, ON *rjúpa*, Lith. *jerbė* and *jeru(m)bė*, Hom. Gr. ὀρφνύϊος ‘dark, murky (of the night)’ and ὀρφνός [adj.], ὀρφν-^ο ‘dark, dark red’;
- Based on an *h₂*-formation resulting in a secondary verbal root **h₁erh₂-* attested in two language families with a similar semantic shift: Skt. *raj~rañj* ‘to colour, become red (e.g. out of excitement), to be excited’ (AV+), *rāga-* [m.] ‘(red) colour, passion, love’, Gr. ἐραμαι ‘to desire, to love’ (hence also the Aeolic inverse derivative ἔρος).

Some of these words previously lacked a convincing etymology or were suspected to have a substratic, often non-Indo-European origin, including the Germanic word for ‘ore’ and the Germanic and Balto-Slavic words for ‘partridge’. In this regard, we will conclude by focusing on words for ‘vetch’ and ‘pea’, which we also derive from the PIE root **h₁er-* ‘to be/become (dark)red’. We first analyse Lat. *ervum* [n.] ‘vetch’ as inherited, Com. Germ. **arwīt-* [f.] ‘pea’ (OHG *arawīz*, *araw(e)iz*, MDu. *erwete*, ON *ertr*) as a Germanic-internal innovation based on inherited material. We then move to Gr. ὄροβος [m.] ‘vetch’ and Gr. ἐρέβινθος [m.] ‘chick-pea’. We do invoke borrowing processes, yet from Anatolian languages (respectively from Late Luwian / pre-Lycian and from pre-Lydian) rather than from a hypothetical non-Indo-European substratum language.

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